INTRODUCTION/SUMMARY

The areas included in this addition to the Skyline Drive Historic District constitute a majority of the historic developed areas of Shenandoah National Park including the park Headquarters. The resources included within this nomination, like those included in the original nomination, exemplify the park, and its singular history.[1] The park -- and thus the boundary addition's -- significance falls under both National Register Criterion A (properties significant for their association with events) and Criterion C (properties significant as representatives of the manmade expression of culture or technology). The area is significant in the areas of Politics/Government, Architecture, Entertainment/Recreation, and Landscape Architecture for the period of 1931-1952. The park's historical significance relates in part to the fact that it was one of the first eastern national parks and as such, the nation's most visited national park in the years immediately prior to World War II. In addition, it is significant as the site of the Skyline Drive and as a primary example of artificial efforts to return a developed area to its natural state. The park, while initiated during the administration of Herbert Hoover is an example of the many accomplishments of Franklin Roosevelt's Depression-era programs, in particular the Civilian Conservation Corps. The park's design is characteristic of the outstanding landscape design and master planning of the National Park Service's Branch of Plans and Designs. It features a notable collection of buildings designed in the rustic style (by the National Park Service and, for the concessionaire's buildings, Richmond architect Marcellus Wright, Jr.). Further discussion of the overall significance of the park can be found in the 1996 Skyline Drive Historic District National Register Nomination.

In addition to significance related to the park as a whole, the boundary addition area also conveys significance relating to the specific areas within the addition. In particular, the Headquarters area has significance as the temporary home of much of the Smithsonian Institution's collection during World War

[1] In addition to Skyline Drive, Camp Hoover, Corbin Cabin and ten prehistoric archeological sites already represent the park on the National Register. A draft nomination has also been prepared for Skyland. At a later time, other resources, for instance the Lewis Mountain area which was the officially racially segregated lodging area, will likely be added to the Skyline Drive Historic District.

II. The Simmons Gap area is significant as the site of one of the last remaining Episcopal Church mission buildings in this section of the Blue Ridge Mountains. The Piney River area is one of two areas within the park that were the site of CCC camps and that still retain CCC buildings. The Big Meadows area is the largest of the historic developed areas in the park and in many ways is the one which best illustrates the range of National Park Service design work.

As discussed in Section 7, most of the park's historic resources date from the mid-1930s to the early 1940s. When the park was established, it included thousands of built resources (mostly dwellings and outbuildings) associated with mountain residents, nearly all of which were removed prior to World War II. In the meantime, resources catering to visitors to the park (lodges, waysides, campgrounds, etc.) and buildings associated with the maintenance and administration of the park (storage and shop buildings, offices, etc.) were constructed. With the exception of those constructed by the park concessionaire, Virginia Sky-Line, Inc., most of the historic resources in the park today were in some way associated with Depression-era agencies.[2] Chief among these agencies was the ECW/CCC which provided the manpower for much of the landscaping and utility work as well as some of the construction work. Both the landscaping and the architectural design at the park are generally in the Rustic style.

[2]Although buildings constructed by the concessionaire were privately funded, the utilities and site development were completed by a combination of federal agencies.

The major relevant Virginia Department of Historic Resources historic contexts for this nomination are: *Settlement and Agriculture in the Blue Ridge Mountains*[3] *1865-1917* and *Federal Government-sponsored Architecture, Landscape Architecture, and Planning from 1917-1945 in the Blue Ridge*. Significant property types include: park roads, park headquarters, maintenance areas, concessionaires' developments, picnic areas, campgrounds, comfort stations, and former CCC camps.[4]

[3]Virginia's geographical regions include the "Valley" area and the "Upper Piedmont" area. Shenandoah National Park literally straddles the line between the two areas. (The boundaries between counties on either side is often the ridge of the Blue Ridge.)

[4]These property types are based on the types described in the *Historic Park Landscapes in National and State Parks Multiple Property Listing.*

PRE-PARK DEVELOPMENT, c. 1890-1935[5]

Early Development and Agriculture

Settlement of the National Register boundary expansion area tended to be closely linked to means of transportation, as well as to access to water and fertile land. Mountain passes, or "gaps" as they are referred to in Virginia, channeled development in the area. They funneled people and traffic through specific routes and spawned development in their immediate vicinity. This growth, which developed to service travelers, included inns, blacksmith shops, and related settlement.

Although many of the earliest occupants in the vicinity of the park were of English ancestry, by the mid-eighteenth century German, and to a lesser extent Scotch-Irish immigrants, also came in increasing numbers to the valley area. Some of the German immigrants had ties to the settlement established at Germanna, Virginia. Most of those with German and Swiss backgrounds, however, came to the park area, as they did to the rest of Virginia, by way of Pennsylvania. A majority had strong farming backgrounds and held firmly to their traditional language and religion. Beginning around 1830 and peaking after the Civil War, the valley farmers/grazers (mostly German in background) began replacing those of British descent as owners of the fertile sections (especially along the Blue Ridge crest) of the park land. The Germans used the land for pasturage for their cattle. The change in land use and ownership accelerated as a result of the Civil War, and the British dominance of land ownership in the future park lands was effectively terminated by this time.

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[5]The story of the area that was to become the park also includes much in the way of pre-history. There have been a number of studies regarding archeological resources in the park, and additional studies are ongoing. This information is beyond the scope of this nomination, which concentrates on built resources. Later nominations to the National Register relating to archeological resources will be forthcoming and will address the site's rich pre-history.

Grazing soon became the major agricultural activity in the Blue Ridge. Particularly after 1830, valley landowners purchased the richer future park land to graze cattle. Until 1845, Virginia raised more cattle that any other state or territory in the country.[6] Accompanying the use of the land for grazing was an unusual land tenancy system that embraced about half of the population in the area that was to become the park.[7] Cattle ranchers in the valley who owned mountain plots usually established a tenant on the tract to help care for the herds. In some cases, the tenant was originally a squatter on the property. The tenancy was unofficial and without any written agreements. The arrangement generally permitted the tenant to stay on the land, to use some of it for gardens and orchards, to graze small herds, gather chestnuts, and harvest a small amount of timber. Many tenants also maintained droves of pigs, which fed on the chestnuts that were plentiful until the chestnut blight. In exchange, the tenants helped herd the cattle (including "salting" the cattle -- that is, putting out salt for them to lick), repaired fences, and to some extent protected the landowner's property rights. In addition, the tenants/squatters often cleared additional land, thereby creating new grazing areas. In some cases, the owner may have received a share of the tenant's profits as payment for the use of the land. The unofficial relationship between the landowner's family and the family of the tenants/squatters continued for generations. In many cases, these longterm relationships ended only with the acquisition of the land for the park. A high percentage of the occupants of the area (60 percent) had no legal title to their land; therefore when the land was acquired for the park they often received little or no compensation for their property.[8] This created particular hardships and was a major source of conflict when land was condemned for the park by the Commonwealth of Virginia.

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[6]Darwin L. Lambert, *The Undying Past of Shenandoah National Park,* Boulder, Colorado: Roberts Rinehart, Inc. Publishers, 1989, p. 137.

[7]Lambert, *The Undying Past*, p. 139.

[8]Because many of the residents were on the property with the permission of the legal owners, they could not claim adverse possession of the land.

Although much of the park land had always been part of large tracts, there were many smaller-scale landowners. These mountain residents generally had small gardens, often including corn, rye, and vegetables, and frequently a small orchard. (Today, apple and peach trees are often the only visible indication of an old home site in the park.) They often also had pigs and a milk cow. In 1934, 90 percent of the people occupying park land cultivated at least some land.[9] Many grew corn and/or wheat, which was milled at the local gristmills. A typical family that lived in the Swift Run area raised green beans, which they dried ("hay beans"), and grew apples in their orchard, some of which they dried, some of which went into apple butter or were stored. They also had cows for milk, butter, and cheese. The family's food supply was supplemented by gathering berries and nuts. With the exception of chestnuts, which were often sold for cash, for the most part the food produced was enough for little more than feeding the family through the winter.[10] The summer's excesses were preserved, or in the case of corn or fruits, turned into alcohol. Without rotation methods or fertilizers, the corn and wheat fields had to be left fallow every few years. Many farmers cleared land by cutting a ring around the bark of the trees, thereby killing them, but permitting the dead trees to stay in place until there was sufficient time or need to cut them down.

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[9]Lambert, *The Undying Past*, p. 175; and Steere, Edward, "Historical Study of Park," United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Shenandoah National Park, p. 16.

[10]*Carolyn Reeder and Jack Reeder, Shenandoah Secrets: The Story of the Park's Hidden Past, Washington, D.C., The Potomac Appalachian Trail Club,* p. 23.

By 1900, there were approximately 6,000 people living within what is now the park.[11] By this time the size of the mountain population, as well as other factors, were straining life on the ridge. With the development of railroads and other economic changes, services and industries upon which residents relied moved into nearby towns such as Front Royal. These changes forced mountain residents to have a greater dependence on a cash economy. As a result, people followed jobs to the towns and the population of the rural areas declined. Between 1900 and 1920 about half of the mountain population left, and in 1936, when the park was dedicated, only 2,250 people remained within its boundary. Of those who remained, most no longer could rely on the land to support their families. In 1934, 331 of 465 park families received cash from working either at the Skyland resort (located within what became the park lands) or in the farms in the valley.[12]

Two pre-twentieth-century houses and associated outbuildings located in the Headquarters area remain as reminders of the area's early development and agriculture. (Although the buildings' significance in large part relates to a later period.) The houses appear to have been constructed and occupied by farm families. Although in some ways representative of farm groupings, in other ways the buildings are not typical of most of the residential buildings that were originally located within the park boundaries. The buildings' size and design, as well as their location (close to Luray), and the fact that they were owner-occupied, set them apart from the majority of houses in the park area.

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[11]John A. Conners, *Shenandoah National Park: An Interpretive Guide,* Blacksburg, VA., McDonald and Woodward Publishing Co., p. 89.

[12]Lambert, *The Undying Past*, p. 179.

Religion

Although the mountain area was physically isolated, there were strong outside connections, especially to the Shenandoah valley.[13] Particularly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, some of these ties were religious.

The first missionaries to concentrate their efforts on the residents of what was to become the park area -- and those with the greatest impact on the area of the Blue Ridge -- were the Episcopalians, who began work in the area in the early 1880s. Frederick William Neve, an Englishman, was assigned in 1888 by his church to a parish in Albemarle County. After meeting some of the Blue Ridge Mountain residents in his church, the people of the Blue Ridge became his personal crusade. Neve preached throughout the mountain areas and brought back stories of the people's impoverished condition (in terms of both physical and spiritual needs). These stories helped to raise money for his cause. In 1904 he became archdeacon of a newly established diocese that covered the Blue Ridge.

By 1900, Neve had raised enough money through donations to hire a teacher, Angeline Fitzhugh. She taught local children first in a donated cabin and later in a small frame schoolhouse at Simmons Gap. The schoolhouse doubled as a church on those occasions when a minister was available. Between 1900 and

[13]See generally, Audrey J. Horning, "From Hollow to Valley and Back Again: Historical Anthropology of Nicholson Hollow in Regional Context." Paper presented at "After the Backcountry: Rural Life and Society in the Nineteenth Century Valley of Virginia" Conference, March 1995.

1928, Neve expanded facilities at Simmons Gap and in 1906, a masonry chapel was added to the collection of frame buildings at Simmons Gap.[14]

The Simmons Gap Mission Hall, the only standing religious structure in the park today, was erected around 1925. This building was used by parishioners for various church functions as well as community meetings and social activities including square dances. With various church-related structures, Simmons Gap by the 1920s and 1930s became a thriving community that featured a general store and post office in addition to the church buildings. After the park was established, the stone chapel was moved to a location near Free Union. With the exception of the Mission Hall, which is used as the administrative offices for the park's South District, other church buildings were dismantled or fell down. Aside from the Mission Hall, all other structures now at Simmons Gap were built after the establishment of the park and are not associated with the mission. The mission's importance relates primarily to the fact that it is one of a handful of buildings, and the only religious structure, to survive the extensive demolition that occurred when the park was established.

[14]Although some sources have indicated that this was a stone building, photographs (c. 1904-13) of what was called "Holy Innocent's Church" at Simmons Gap show a rock-faced concrete block building. Around this time a rock-faced concrete block school house was also built. See "Protestant Episcopal Mission Activities: 1904-10," (Lot 6986), Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Neve's 1900-28 expansions at Simmons Gap were echoed all along the ridge at a number of different missions of various denominations.[15]

Architecture

With a few possible exceptions, buildings in the National Register boundary expansion area that existed when the park was established were not architect-designed. For the most part they were practical vernacular structures that represented a range of periods of construction, material, and styles similar to nearby mountain areas of Virginia. In terms of building type, buildings standing at the time of the opening of the park in the boundary expansion area included, churches, schools, stores, houses, barns, and a variety of outbuildings. Of these, dwellings were the predominant building type. In the park as a whole, in 1934 there were more than 400 houses in the park area. In general, the houses were small vernacular buildings, typically log cabins.[16] A number of outbuildings/structures typically ringed the dwelling, including barns, sheds, cribs, springhouses, stone walls, and fenced enclosures.

[15]Neve did live to see the creation of Shenandoah National Park. He died on November 19, 1948.

[16]Two vernacular houses, Corbin Cabin and the Jones Mountain Cabin survive in the park but are located outside of the area included in this nomination. Corbin Cabin has been separately listed on the National Register.

For more affluent owners in the park area, the predominant house type was the two-story, side-gable farmhouse, often referred to as an I-house. I-houses are a housing type found throughout the country. They are usually described as a mid-nineteenth- to early-twentieth-century symmetrical, two-story, one-room-deep building with central hall/stair. In this category are two houses located in the Headquarters area. The first of these (HQ-0217) is located in the residential area. Although little or no historical information is available about this house, it is believed to date from 1916.[17] The other surviving I-house type building in the park is HQ-0218 which is currently the Center for Resources . Like HQ-0217, little or no historical information is available about this house; however, it was apparently constructed before 1900.[18] After establishment of the park, the building was used for a number of years as the superintendent's residence. Around 1942, the building was reconditioned using Emergency Conservation Work/Civilian Conservation Corps foremen and technicians who remained in the park after official projects were completed.[19]

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[17]"Determination of Significance" statement, 1994, Administrative Files, Shenandoah National Park (DSC Facility Development Plan Project). According to the 1973 Sellars Report, the building was constructed by the family of Mrs. John Shenk of Luray, VA.

[18]The 1973 Sellars Report states that the house was constructed "about 80 years ago" by the father of Mrs. John Shenk of Luray. Changes to the building include various additions and the removal of the front porch.

[19]Darwin Lambert, "Shenandoah National Park: Administrative History 1924-1976." Luray, Virginia, 1979, p. 287.

The two I-houses in the Headquarters area of the park are representative of a number of larger homes that were extant when the park was created.

The land around most of the houses within the park area was involved in some way in agricultural production, and most houses had a number of associated outbuildings to accommodate these activities. Originally, houses were surrounded with a variety of outbuildings, typically including barns, or sheds, corn cribs, smokehouses, outhouses, and springhouses. Both of the Headquarters area I-houses still have one or two frame outbuildings, now used as sheds or garages.

ESTABLISHMENT OF SHENANDOAH NATIONAL PARK AND EARLY PARK DEVELOPMENT, 1933-1942

The Establishment of Shenandoah National Park

The nation's first national park, Yellowstone, was established in 1872, 44 years before the creation of the National Park Service in 1916.[20] It, as well as later parks, had a number of common characteristics. All

[20]Prior to this, in 1864 the federal government had given Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove of Big Trees to the State of California for scenic purposes. This area was later added to the Yosemite National Park which was established in 1890.

were western parks located in relatively undeveloped places of immense natural beauty.[21] As an eastern park and one established in an area that had been significantly impacted by human occupation for generations, Shenandoah National Park represented a major change from the parks which had preceded it. Its quite different nature played a role in the particularly long and convoluted process of establishing the park which involved the work of dozens of dedicated individuals and groups working at the local, regional, and national level.[22]

On the national level, as early as 1901, there was legislation in Congress proposing the idea of an eastern national park in the southern Appalachian mountains. This solidified an idea that had surfaced in the 1880s. The idea languished, however, and only in the 1920s was there real movement to achieve this objective. Stephen T. Mather, the first director of the National Park Service, in his 1923 *Annual Report*, again suggested an eastern national park, more specifically, one located in the Appalachian Mountains. His interest in an eastern park was partially in response to the large number of national parks already located in the west and the lack of parks within easy reach of residents of the eastern seaboard. The next year, the Southern Appalachian National Park Committee, which was organized by Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work, began to actively seek sites for such a new park. There were so many areas interested in becoming the first southeastern national park that the committee devised a survey form to screen the large number of competing sites.

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[21]There were certain exceptions, however. These include Hot Springs National Park which was created in 1921, and Maine's Acadia National Park. The latter was proclaimed as Sieur de Monts National Monument in 1916, established as Lafayette National Park in 1919, and renamed Acadia National Park in 1929.

[22]See the Skyline Drive National Register nomination for additional information about the creation of the park.

On the local level, the Skyland resort and its colorful founder, George Freeman Pollock, were major forces behind the creation of Shenandoah National Park.[23] From the founding of the Skyland resort in the 1888-89, Pollock had been a strong advocate for his corner of the Blue Ridge. Harold Allen, a friend of Pollock's and frequent guest at Skyland, initially apprised Pollock of the work of the Southern Appalachian National Park Committee and, later, with fellow Skyland resident, George H. Judd, helped Pollock complete the survey form. Pollock, thereafter began a full-fledged campaign to bring the park to Skyland. He personally visited members of the committee in Washington and brought with him glowing letters about the spot from his many well-placed guests. Pollock's efforts, in combination with those of Shenandoah Valley, Inc., as discussed below, were successful in attracting the committee to come view the area and ultimately endorse the Blue Ridge area as the national park site. Although the closeness of the site to such a large portion of the population was persuasive, Pollock's salesmanship also played an important role in winning the support of the committee. His efforts to win the committee's support varied from orchestrating moonlight horseback rides, to constructing viewing towers and paths to make the vistas more easily visible to park committee members. Pollock spent $7,000 of his family funds on these improvements.

The push to create the park also had a regional component. In January 1924, a group of local chambers of commerce banded together to form Shenandoah Valley, Inc., the purpose of which was to "proclaim to all

[23]What was eventually to become the Skyland resort, a collection of cabins and a dining hall, was established at the site of the current Skyland area. The resort had many ups and downs and it was well into the twentieth century before the resort became a going concern. For more in-depth information on Skyland and its resources see, Reed L. Engle, "Skyland Historic District National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form," [draft] 1995.

the world the material resources and scenic attractions of the area."[24] L. Ferdinand Zerkle, the director of the new organization, with the help of Pollack, managed to convert part of the group which initially advocated that the park be located on the Massanutten range. Thereafter, the group became vital to the success of the park. Specifically, they aided the effort initiated by Pollock to secure the committee's endorsement of a Blue Ridge location for the park. Zerkle in particular helped orchestrate the effort to acquire the land to establish the park.

[24]Lambert, *Administrative History*, p. 14-15.

With the selection of the Shenandoah site, by February 1925, Congress approved a bill providing for a commission to recommend park boundaries and to arrange to acquire land at Shenandoah. It specified that a minimum of 385,000 acres would have to be donated before the park could be accepted into the national park system. In the following years, the acreage required to establish the park was reduced (twice) to 160,000 acres.[25] The effort to acquire land and to change the minimum acreage was only the first of many hurdles that the project had to face. It took ten additional years before the park officially came into existence. The delays were due to a number of factors, including a lawsuit relating to the condemnation of land for the park, the need to set up a program to help resettle the former residents of the park area, and the overall difficulty in getting donations to fund procurement of the land.

Meanwhile, in 1926, Harry Byrd, newly elected governor of Virginia and a strong supporter of the park, persuaded Will Carson, a businessman and civic leader, to become chairman of the newly created Virginia State Commission on Conservation and Development. In this position, Carson became responsible for furthering the cause of the park, and, in particular, with coming up with the funds necessary to buy the land. One of his major accomplishments was his role in bringing Herbert Hoover to the park. Less than two months after Herbert Hoover's inauguration as president, Carson managed to convince him to establish a fishing camp on a stretch of the Rapidan River within what was to become the park boundary. Hoover quickly became a devotee of the place and perhaps more importantly, the major

[25]In addition to setting a minimum acreage for the park, the bill also set the legal maximum acreage for the park at 521,000 acres. This represented areas where the park could expand if land was acquired. This figure was reduced and the authorized area now stands at 196,000 acres.

force behind the construction of a "skyline drive" along the mountains. [26] According to one version of the story, in late 1930, President Hoover was riding horseback along the crest of the mountains with the director of the National Park Service, Horace Albright. Hoover remarked on the beauty of the views along the ridge and his desire to share them with the public. He then directed Albright to undertake a survey in preparation for construction of a skyline drive.[27]

[26]Hoover ended up donating his 166-acre camp in Madison County to the park.

[27]Horace M. Albright, "My Trips With Harold Ickes," *Washington History*, Spring 1990, p.39. Although Albright dates the trip to May 1931, other sources give different dates for the trip. The concept of a skyline drive did not start with Hoover, but goes back at least to 1924. The questionnaire produced by Pollock and the report of the committee charged with selecting an Appalachian Mountain park site both mentioned the idea -- although where the idea came from is unclear.

The National Park Service obtained title to the land that was to become the drive (along with a 100-foot right-of-way) and construction of Skyline Drive was started July 18, 1931 on the section of the road from Thornton's Gap (Panorama) to Swift Run Gap with a smaller road to Fish Rack (south of Camp Hoover). Although still unfinished, a special advance opening of the drive, from Lee Highway (Route 211) to Skyland was held between October 22 and November 30, 1932 -- during which time 30,837 persons in 7,891 cars used the then-unpaved road.[28] The central section of the drive from Thornton Gap to Swift Run Gap (incorporating the Rt. 211/Skyland section) also opened before the park on September 15, 1934. The north section of the drive, from Front Royal to Thornton Gap, opened October 1, 1936 (after the establishment of the park), and the south section, from Swift Run Gap to Jarman Gap, was completed August 29, 1939. The segment of the road from Jarman Gap to Rockfish Gap was constructed in 1936-37 as part of the Blue Ridge Parkway and incorporated into the park and Skyline Drive in 1961.

Although approximately one-third of the Skyline Drive was open and already in use, it was only on December 26, 1935 that three deeds transferring a total of 176,429.8 acres from Virginia to the United States government were finally accepted, and Shenandoah National Park officially came into existence.[29] This expanded the National Park Service's jurisdiction, which had previously been limited to the drive and the associated right-of-way. The first park employee came on staff in March 1936 and the dedication of the park occurred on July 3, 1936. Thousands of visitors and hundreds of CCC participants attended the proceedings that were broadcast on national radio. President Roosevelt, in addition to a number of others, addressed the crowd. His speech discussed the related goals of preservation and development of the country's natural and human resources and how these goals were being accomplished through the CCC program at the park. In addition, Roosevelt spoke of the importance of recreational opportunities:

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[28]Lambert, *Administrative History,* p. 117.

[29]The deeds had been delivered over a year before, in August 1934. The delay in the acceptance of the deeds was a function of problems related to the resettlement of the residents.

> *All across the nation at this time of the year people are starting out for their vacations in national and state parks. They will set up roadside camps or pitch their tents under the stars, with an open fire to cook by, with the smell of the woods and the wind in the trees. They will forget the rust and the strain of all the other long weeks of the year, and for a short time at least, the days will be good for their bodies and good for their souls. Once more they will lay hold of the perspective that comes to men and women who every morning and every night can lift up their eyes to Mother Nature.*
>
> *There is merit for all of us in the ancient tale of the giant Antaeus, who every time he touched his mother earth, arose with strength renewed a hundredfold.*

He also spoke of the need throughout the country for "recreational areas for parkways which will give to men and women of moderate means the opportunity, the invigoration and the luxury of touring and camping amid scenes of rare natural beauty."[30]

Those who struggled to bring the park into existence did not have to wait long to see the success of their efforts. With the official opening of additional segments of Skyline Drive and the completion of some services for visitors, visitorship at the park soared. Thousands of visitors poured into the park, used existing recreational facilities, drove on the scenic Skyline Drive, and enjoyed the out-of-doors at picnic areas. By September 1937, the yearly visitation reached one million, a first for any national park.

Depression-Era Programs at Shenandoah

With the transfer of ownership of the park land to the National Park Service in December 1935, the official administrative wheels of the park began to turn. On March 1, 1936, permanent park staff began work at temporary offices at Luray. The first chief ranger, R. Taylor Hoskins, was sworn in on that day, as was the first park employee, Darwin Lambert (later, historical chronicler of the park).
However, in regard to physical improvements, the beginning of direct control over the park area by the National Park Service represented more of a transition than a major change. Work on the Skyline Drive and associated projects (such as the construction of waysides and picnic areas) by CCC workers

[30]Quoted in Lambert, *Administrative History*, p. 145.

continued irrespective of the change in ownership. In addition, National Park Service personnel who had been working on the site in a number of capacities (in particular, supervising CCC workers) continued their work.

The change in ownership did mean that certain other types of projects, specifically construction projects, could start up. Without doubt, Skyline Drive and the development necessary to establish facilities at Shenandoah National Park constituted the right projects at the right time. Both were perfect activities for the various federal New Deal works programs. Without the influx of money and labor that accompanied these projects, many of the improvements could not have been accomplished for many years. The drive, and the park-related improvements were completed using a combination of types of federal funding programs. Although in theory the different programs/funding sources were separate and had quite distinctive differences in terms of their program goals, in practice, these goals became blurred. It appears that to accomplish any one particular project at the park, in many cases funds and/or labor were used from whatever program had money or workers available. For instance, although CCC labor supposedly was not to be used for large construction projects, the CCC often worked on such projects if men were available.[31]

The Civilian Conservation Corps

The Civilian Conservation Corps, initially part of the Emergency Conservation Work initiative, existed for nine years and three months. During virtually the entire period of its operation, the organization conducted work at Shenandoah National Park (or what was to be the site of the park). The work that it accomplished pushed the park years ahead in terms of physical development than would otherwise have been possible. A considerable portion of the current infrastructure of the park, from trails and picnic shelters to sewage and water systems, is attributable to the work of the CCC.

[31] Oral interview with G.L."Hop" Baughan, September 21, 1995.

The CCC/ECW was one of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's "pet" programs. Roosevelt, as former chairman of the New York State Legislature's Committee on Forest, Fish and Game, had a strong interest in, and commitment to, conservation work. After his election as president in November 1932, and prior to taking office, Roosevelt asked staff to come up with plans for a national program to employ unemployed men in projects in federally owned forests. Soon after taking office, Roosevelt held a conference to discuss the outline of the program. In endorsing the Federal Unemployment Relief Act, the bill that eventually went through Congress, Roosevelt emphasized the bill's beneficial effect of conserving natural resources, and the "moral and spiritual value" of the work. He also emphasized that the work done by the corps would be "simple work, not interfering with normal employment, and confining itself to forestry, the prevention of soil erosion, flood control, and similar projects."[32] Roosevelt signed the legislation on March 31, 1933, just 22 days after assuming the presidency. The legislation specified that the program would expire after two years.

Because Roosevelt wanted to see the program put the unemployed to work for the summer months of that year, a stepped-up effort began to get the program -- officially called Emergency Conservation Work -- up and running. Under the plans, the Department of Labor would help select recruits, the Army would train and transport the recruits and operate the work camps, and the National Park Service and Forest Service would direct their work assignments. The ECW officially began operation on April 5 and within one week, representatives from many established national parks and (in the case of Shenandoah) planned national parks had contacted the ECW requesting enrollees. In general, projects were selected that did not call for large quantities of material or equipment, and that did not require skilled workers. Many types of projects were limited to $1,500 without the specific authority of the Washington office of the National Park Service.

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[32]U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Labor, Message from the President of the United States on Unemployment Relief, Doc. 6, 73rd Cong., 1st sess., March 21, 1933, p. 2, quoted in John C. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service*, 1933-1942, National Park Service, 1985, p. 8.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt without doubt personally ensured that Shenandoah received support from CCC camps. In April 1933, Roosevelt visited Hoover's camp, and although the terrain of the site was too rough for him to consider for his own use (he instead went to what was later known as Camp David), he was impressed with the area and with Skyline Drive. He became convinced that the park area was the perfect site for the first of the CCC camps. Although, as it turns out, the first CCC camp was not located in the future park area, camps within the area of the park soon followed. On April 25, the Director of the ECW announced that ECW camps would be located in the proposed Shenandoah National Park at Skyland and Big Meadows. On May 11, the first three National Park Service camps, including NPS-1 located at Skyland, opened their doors. Land was donated or leased within the park, and two camps (NPS-1/Skyland and NPS-2/Big Meadows) were set up in May 1933. These were the first camps to be managed by the National Park Service. One month later, two more camps were opened: NPS-3 was established beside the drive north of Swift Run Gap, and NPS-4 was located near Front Royal.[33] In

[33]The official names of the camps at Shenandoah were Skyland (NP-1), Big Meadows (NP-2), Bald Face (NP-3), Harmony Hollow (NP-4), and Grottos (NP-5). Later camps were located at Sperryville (NP-9), Sexton Shelter/Pinnacles (NP-10), and Rattlesnake Point/Piney River (NP-12). NP-9 (which operated only for a few months in 1934-35) and NP-10 were transferred to the National Park Service in

August, 1933 Roosevelt came to personally inspect the progress of the camps. He met with enrollees and ate lunch at one of the CCC camps.[34]

The early work of the CCC in the area included within this nomination preceded the establishment of the park by two years. One of the first tasks was the construction of camp buildings and the utilitarian CCC camp buildings are the earliest group of buildings in the expanded boundary area from this period. CCC workers were housed in camps located close to the project sites. Initially, the camps were composed entirely of tents. However, given the short lifespan of the tents, the effort involved in setting them up and taking them down, and their unsuitability during the winter months, the tents were soon replaced with wooden buildings. Tents began to be replaced by permanent wooden buildings in late 1933 and early

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1934. NP-12 was moved from Sperryville in 1935 (where it had been called NP-9). NP-26 and NP-27 operated only briefly for part of 1939 (NP-26) and 1940-41 (NP-27).

[34]Lambert, *Administrative History*, p. 145. Although in the years following its dedication Roosevelt's involvement in the park lessened (especially as the war consumed more of his energy) he still retained a strong interest in it. So for instance, when a major dispute arose between the National Park Service and local interests concerning opening roads through the park, he vetoed a bill which would have established two additional access roads.

1934. This change to permanent structures was part of a nationwide effort. According to one press release:

> *Forty thousand carpenters, working in 46 states and utilizing 300 million feet of lumber, are rushing to completion a record-breaking camp construction program for the Civilian Conservation Corps. On over 1,400 camp sites, a total of nearly 15,000 buildings are being constructed to take care of housing and recreation needs for the 300,00 men of the CCC for the winter and spring months.*[35]

By 1934, there was considerable experimentation with "portable" CCC buildings and by around 1936 they had become the CCC standard building type. The Army's design was for an inexpensive, easily constructed, partially prefabricated wood building with interchangeable parts that could be used for any of a variety of buildings. Constructed of standard size units, the buildings in many cases were held together by long bolts. The buildings were generally arranged in a U-shaped configuration, with the open central area used for central assemblies or other group activities. Buildings housing a recreation hall, a garage, a dispensary, administrative buildings, a mess hall, officers' quarters, barracks, and a school house were standard in the camps. The buildings were covered with tar paper, clapboard sheathing (painted brown or green), or were creosoted. The standard plans for the camps changed slightly in 1939, when separate buildings for the camp superintendent, the dining room, and the recreational hall were added.

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[35]Press release dated November 3, 1933: pp.1-2. Located at: Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library, Hyde Park, NY; Official File 268, 2, quoted in, Alison Otis, William D. Honey et al, *The Forest Service and Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933-42*, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, 1986, p. 74.

Although most of the CCC camp buildings in the park were either torn down or disassembled and moved to military bases during the war years, in the National Register boundary addition area, CCC buildings still survive at their original location at Piney River.[36] Camp NP-12, which operated from 1935 to 1941, included more than 20 buildings, including barracks, a mess hall, an educational building, offices, equipment storage buildings, and maintenance sheds. Of these, the major building that remains is a wood frame building of modular construction. It was built in 1935 and used as technical quarters for the CCC camp. The parade ground and most of the buildings at the camp were located to the south and west of the technical quarters.

Other early CCC work consisted mostly of fire protection, erosion control, landscaping/contouring along Skyline Drive and trail construction including work on relocating the Appalachian Trail. In addition, enrollees worked on picnic areas and construction projects such as construction of shelters, and landscape furnishings (including drinking fountains, picnic tables, and fireplaces). The CCC also conducted a "landscape naturalization" program which involved moving native plants that were located on construction sites to a temporary nursery at Big Meadows before they were replanted at other sites. They also gathered seed from many native trees and shrubs and started their own seedlings.[37] The number and variety of stock raised at the nursery was impressive. In addition to operating the nursery, the CCC also did extensive transplanting of the stock from the Big Meadows nursery.

In the National Register boundary expansion area, CCC workers developed the Dickey Ridge (1938), and Big Meadows (1939) Picnic Grounds along with the parking lots, fire grates, tables, water fountains, comfort stations, and the utility systems necessary to operate them. Big Meadows campground, the first

[36]Outside of the National Register boundary increase area, CCC buildings also still survive at their original location at Pinnacles. In addition, two buildings at the Headquarters maintenance area (HQ-0427, HQ-0426) appear to have been constructed for use by the CCC and later moved.

[37]Oral history interviews with CCC members conducted by the park in 1994 and 1995.

in the park, was completed by the CCC in 1937 and included 20 camping sites and 50 sites for trailers. Other amenities included 20 fireplaces, 50 tables, and 6 drinking fountains all completed by the CCC.

Especially after the opening of the park, CCC workers were also involved in more elaborate construction projects. They for instance worked on the construction of maintenance area buildings at Big Meadows. Plans for the Blacksmith Shop (BM-0412) and the Repair Shop and Garage (BM-0410) both give CCC or ECW job numbers. CCC labor was also used in the construction of the Headquarters building.[38] Given the CCC's general charge of working on smaller projects, its excavation of the basement of the Administration Building was justified as "a borrow pit for grading a parking area in front of the

[38]Oral interview with G.L. "Hop" Baughan, and "Final Construction Report Warehouse Project - 752-02-256," January 2, 1941. National Archives and Records Administration [NARA], RG 79, Entry 81, Box 120 (at Mid-Atlantic Regional facility in Philadelphia).

building."[39] CCC enrollees also made construction material for park buildings including concrete shingles, and chestnut timbers and fence rails. The lumber was produced in a sawmill operated by the CCC.[40]

[39]To avoid competition with private sector enterprises, enrollees were not supposed to be used for the construction of larger buildings. A February 5, 1934 memorandum from the ECW stated, "Enrollees of the Civilian Conservation Corps will not be used in the construction of buildings of a permanent or semi-permanent nature except temporarily in an emergency which does not permit obtaining other labor." (Quoted in Otis, *The Forest Service and the CCC*, p.74. p. 74.) This prohibition may not have applied to skilled locally employed men (LEMs) who were hired by the ECW for their knowledge of local conditions.

[40]The chestnut timbers were known to have been used in the interior of the Administration Building. See, NARA RG 79, Entry, 42 Box 33 ("Virginia-Washington") (at NARA II, College Park, MD). Regarding concrete shingles, an oral history of CCC enrollee Benjamin Silvestri (available at the Shenandoah National Park Archives, Shenandoah National Park, Virginia) indicates that the CCC made concrete shingles for most of the buildings in the park. According to the construction report for the Headquarters' Warehouse project, the shingles were reinforced with galvanized wire and colored to imitate local chestnut shakes. See, "Final Construction Report Warehouse Project - 752-02-256."

The saga of the decline of the ECW was a long one. When the ECW was re-authorized under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 (April 8, 1935), Roosevelt issued a directive calling for the doubling of the program to 600,000 workers. At the same time, however, he was beginning to plan for reducing the size of the program and making it permanent. He instructed the director of the ECW to begin reducing the program to 300,000 by June 1, 1936. On June 28, 1937, Congress passed legislation reauthorizing and changing the name of the agency to the Civilian Conservation Corps. Although it was not made a permanent agency (it was to end three years later) Roosevelt signed the bill. In 1939, under legislation aimed at consolidating federal relief programs, the CCC came under the Federal Security Agency. By this time men were either taking jobs in better-paying defense-related jobs or were joining the military and it was becoming increasingly difficult to get CCC recruits. CCC programs became increasing connected to the military, with some camps located at military bases, and certain defense-related training taking place at the camps. As of the bombing of Pearl Harbor (December 7, 1941), all CCC projects that did not directly relate to the war effort were terminated. The program ended completely on June 30, 1943.

Other Depression-Era Agencies

The Works Progress Administration (as of July 1, 1939, the Works Projects Administration) (WPA) was established in 1935 as part of the second wave of New Deal work relief programs. It was the successor organization to the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and the Civil Works Administration, both of which date to 1933. Unlike many other New Deal programs, the WPA supported skilled labor in a wide variety of fields, varying from art and theater to engineering. WPA projects varied from murals in post office buildings, to public highways and travel guides. Within the boundary addition area, the WPA is known to have supported the development of Big Meadows through construction of the water and sewer systems.[41] In addition, stone used for the Administration Building was quarried and hauled to the site by WPA workers.

[41]Harvey P. Benson, "Report of Harvey P. Benson, Resident Landscape Architect, July 1936." NARA RG79, Finding Aid 166, Entry 30, (NARA II, College Park, MD.) Lodges, waysides, and cabins

The Public Works Administration (PWA) was initially established in 1933 as the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works under the authority of the National Industrial Recovery Act. In 1939, it became a part of the Federal Works Agency. Its function was to plan, help construct, and finance a comprehensive program for federal and nonfederal governmental public works projects. The overall goals of the program included reducing unemployment, increasing consumers' purchasing power, improving standards of labor, and conserving natural resources. The organization acted to some degree like a bank or building and loan association, supplying funding, but at the same time employing inspectors to ensure that the project was being constructed according to plans and specifications. The PWA also supervised the bidding process, and dictated the price to be paid for labor. The type of projects funded by the PWA varied widely, and a 1939 PWA summary lists over 120 different types of buildings, varying from abattoirs to windmills, that were constructed using the funds. The National Park Service was a major recipient of PWA funds -- receiving some $17,059,450 in the first year of the program. For projects located within parks, the National Park Service reviewed and supervised construction projects.

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were constructed by Shenandoah's concessionaire, Virginia Sky-Line. The buildings were, and are today, owned by the concessionaire.

In the area included in this nomination, major projects known to be funded by the PWA include construction of the Headquarters Building and a warehouse building at the Headquarters maintenance area. The latter two projects were completed in 1940 for a total of $76,659.42.[42] An addition to the Headquarters Building also was funded by the PWA.

Detailed reports of PWA projects were required, and reports for two projects in the boundary addition area shed light on the PWA construction process. In the case of the Administration Building (PWA O[fficial] P[roject] 752-02-255), funds came from the Department of Interior allotment for 1938-41 under the PWA Act of 1938. Construction of the project, which was completed by force account, began December 22, 1938, and was completed July 15, 1940. Local laborers were employed by the park at wages varying from 35 to 75 cents per hour. The architect in charge (likely G.L. Baughan) recorded the timekeeping and provided semi-monthly time sheets to the park office for payrolls. Building materials came from suppliers in Virginia and Washington, D.C. Most millwork with the exception of window sash, was completed in the Headquarters carpenter shop. Stone for the walls was hauled to the site (by the WPA) and cut and shaped by local stonemasons.

National Park Service Planning, Landscape Design, and Architecture: The Work of the Branch of Plans and Designs[43]

[42]"Final Construction Report Administration Building - 752-02-255," January 2, 1941. NARA, RG 79, Finding Aid 166, Entry 81, Box 120 (at Mid-Atlantic Regional facility in Philadelphia).

[43]In 1933, what had previously been the Landscape Architecture Division of the National Park Service was renamed the Branch of Plans and Designs. Design work for Shenandoah was completed by the Eastern division, located in Yorktown, Virginia.

All of the master planning and landscape design and most of the architectural design in the expanded boundary addition area during this period of the park's history was completed by the National Park Service's Branch of Plans and Designs.[44] Headed up by Thomas C. Vint, the role of the Branch of Plans and Design was as follows:

> *Functioning not unlike a private professional office, the Branch of Plans and Design . . . serves as professional adviser to the Service in matters of architecture and landscape architecture. The park superintendents and public utility operators are in the position of clients, while the Branch of Engineering and Bureau of Public Roads are collaborators.*
>
> *Although not assuming direct charge of construction funds, the branch is vitally concerned with all phases of park development. Its function is to prepare a practical, well considered course of development for every park and monument (as represented on the Master Plan), which includes determination of the most appropriate type of architecture, and the preparation of a general plan of development for each community and administrative center. The problems to be solved in that plan are the protection of the landscape, location of buildings, bridges and parking areas, selection of type of architecture and restoration of natural features which may have been destroyed. The branch prepares the landscape and architectural plans for the Government facilities contracted through or constructed by the park superintendent's organization. It reviews the plans submitted by the park operators for tourist accommodations and the plans for road projects, preparing the architectural plans and specifications for bridges, guard rails, tunnel portals, and other structures constructed by the Bureau of Public Roads as adjuncts to the major road system.*[45]

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[44] As discussed below, buildings constructed for the park concessionaire, Virginia Sky-Line, were designed by Richmond architect Marcellus Wright, Jr.

[45] Thomas Vint, "Report of the Branch of Plans and Design" (August 29, 1933), NARA, Record Group 79, Finding Aid 166, Entry 7B (at NARA II, College Park, MD).

Prior to the dedication of the park in 1936, one major responsibility of the Branch of Plans and Design (and the Branch of Engineering) was to supervise CCC workers in the park area.[46] The Branch of Plans and Design, which had chief responsibility for master planning and building design in the park, was organized with a number of "resident landscape architects" who had responsibility for individual parks.[47] From 1935 to World War II, the resident landscape architect for Shenandoah was Harvey P. Benson. Benson was born April 25, 1905 in Matlock, Iowa. He received a BS in landscape architecture from Iowa State University in 1927 and after graduating worked in private practice in Illinois and Colorado for six years. He started working for the National Park Service in 1933 at Rocky Mountain National Park and shortly after was transferred to Chattanooga. He came to Shenandoah in 1935 and left it for duty with the Army during World War II. Following the war he continued working for the National Park Service in the regional office in Omaha, Nebraska, where he was involved in planning Bureau of Reclamation water projects. Still working for the National Park Service, he moved to San Francisco in the 1950s. He died,

[46]The CCC program as a whole placed heavy demands on the National Park Service, which expanded greatly to administer the program and other New Deal programs. In June 1940, 3,956 of 7,340 National Park Service employees were paid out of WPA, CCC, and/or PWA funds. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, p. 46.

[47] In 1934, Vint, as head of the division, moved to Washington as the work was divided between an eastern (Yorktown) office and a western (San Francisco) office.

while residing in Sun City, California, around 1968.[48] At Shenandoah, in addition to supervising a substantial staff, Benson also was involved in the design of some buildings and in the final check on, for instance, master plans.

During the heyday of Depression-era work at the park at least a dozen individuals worked under Benson. Other "assistant" landscape architects or technicians who are known to have worked at the park during this time include: G.E. ("Hop") Baughan, M.J. Orcutt, Scudder Griffing, George C. Knox, Wallace G. Atkinson, Henri Charbanne, James K. Somerville, and James T. Swanson. The resident landscape architects were generally either landscape professionals or engineers; Baughan was reportedly the only architect in the group.[49] The planning work of the resident landscape architects was done in cooperation with the park superintendent and the regional National Park Service officials, who also had to sign off on the plans. The available reports of the landscape architects indicate that most planning decisions went through both the regional office and the park superintendent.

[48]Biographical material on Benson is based on information supplied by Iowa State University Alumni Association, various oral interviews, and material accompanying an article by Benson. See, Harvey P. Benson, "The Skyline Drive," *The Regional Review*, February, 1940.

[49]Oral interview with G.E. Baughan.

Although the park's landscape architects appear to have been responsible for many decisions regarding landscape design, others clearly played an important role. For instance, according to one report, National Park Service Chief Landscape Architect Thomas Vint was the source for a suggestion that more grass, annual and perennial flowers, and weeds (and fewer trees and shrubs) be planted in nondeveloped areas of the park. Vint also suggested that vines such as Virginia creeper, bittersweet, wild grape, and clematis be used on rock cuts and along guardwalls. Along the drive he favored opening up important vistas more and creating bays to "lighten up the ever-encroaching tree growth . . . thereby making the existing forest outline less monotonous and more interesting."[50]

[50]Report of Harvey P. Benson. The issue of the degree to which vistas should be opened was a continuing one. By the end of the war years, many previously open areas had grown up, and it became necessary to again institute a program of vista clearing. There were objections from a number of sources to the cutting, but the idea prevailed that having outlooks with no views was nonsensical.

As to architectural design, resident landscape architect G.E. Baughan recalls that most working drawings for park buildings were drawn up at the regional headquarters.[51] Preliminary sketches for some or all of the buildings, however, originated at the park.[52] These were sent to Region I of the National Park Service where the Branch of Plans & Design developed working drawings. Plans and details related to heating, plumbing and electric lighting were furnished by the Branch of Engineering. Some final plans however, apparently were completed at the park. Baughan recalls completing plans for park comfort stations in the mid-1930s. According to the title blocks on the plans, other buildings designed by the resident landscape architects included a pumphouse, Imhoff tank, and temporary fire towers -- all of which were prepared in the Luray offices. Baughan's name, as well as Harvey Benson's, appears on many of the plans for the buildings at the Headquarters maintenance area. From the regional office, during 1936-37, A. Paul Brown's initials appear on a number of drawings, most located at the Big Meadows maintenance area.[53] Other named individuals that appear to have been specifically involved in the design of buildings included in this nomination are "architects Good and Higgins" (the Headquarters Administration Building).[54]

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[51]Oral interview with G.E. Baughan. Baughan was a Virginia native who graduated from the University of Virginia School of Architecture in 1934. After graduation he took a job in Luray but soon after, in August 1936, went to work for the National Park Service at Shenandoah as the "camp technician junior architect." Thereafter, he did mostly engineering work, during the war with the Army Corps of Engineers. He eventually set up his own engineering and contracting firm, in Luray, which constructed a number of buildings at the park including Byrd Visitor Center.

[52]"Final Construction Report Administration Building - 752-02-255," January 2, 1941. NARA RG 79, Finding Aid 166, Entry 81, Box 120 (at Mid-Atlantic Regional facility in Philadelphia).

[53]Brown apparently worked for the San Francisco office of the Branch of Plans and Design in the late 1920s during which time he designed buildings at Yakima Park in Mt. Rainier National Park. By the end of the 1930s he was working in the eastern region. Later, in the 1940s, he did planning for Big Bend National Park. (See Linda Flint McClelland, *Presenting Nature: The Historic Landscape Design of the National Park Service,* Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, 1993, p. 189). Brown's initials also appear in what apparently is an early sketch for the design of Big Meadows Lodge and a drawing of a standard comfort station design for the park.

[54]"Final Construction Report Administration Building - 752-02-255," The construction report states that Good & Higgins were involved in the inspection and approval of the stone construction. No additional information has been located concerning these architects.

Master Planning

As mentioned above, one of the most important tasks of the Branch of Plans and Designs was master planning. By the early 1920s, master planning had become one of the cornerstones of park development. Annual reports from this time emphasized the need for such plans to precede both National Park Service and concessionaire construction. By the early 1930s, plans for each National Park had been developed. Master plans were seen as a means to ensure that a park would develop in a rational manner that both preserved outstanding scenery and provided for public facilities.[55] Under National Park Service's design theory, park buildings were subordinate to the overall plan for the park. Buildings were to "bow deferentially before the park plan" rather than become a "feature." The park plan was supposed to determine the "size, character, location, and use" of every structure. Elements of the plan were interrelated to ensure the plan's "workability and harmony." Although much of the planning work related to the Skyline Drive was completed before the development of a master plan, all post-1935/36 development at Shenandoah was closely tied to plans both for the park as a whole and for individual "developed areas."[56]

The Shenandoah master plans generally included a title sheet, index map, roads and trails map, fire control map, a general plan of the entire park that showed the location of "developed areas," and individual plans for developed areas. The earliest plans, in addition to showing the broad outlines of the park and the route of the Skyline Drive, provided detailed information on areas that were scheduled to be

[55]McClelland, p. 179.

[56]There was continuity before and after the establishment of the park because the ECW/CCC work done prior to the development of the master plans was supervised and/or designed by the same individuals from the National Park Service's Branch of Plans and Design who were involved in the master planning process after the creation of the park.

developed in the near future, such as Big Meadows. In addition to a 1935 plan, pre-World War II master plans are known to exist for at least 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, and 1940.

Generally the plans grouped buildings together by function. These groupings were to be aesthetically pleasing and in harmony with the natural surroundings. A specific architectural theme for each grouping, drawn from local materials or architectural designs, was also selected.[57] One example of such a functional grouping was maintenance areas. In the 1920s, the concept of clustering all maintenance-related facilities together in a single location gained favor and resulted in preliminary schemes to be used in parks. Charles Punchard came up with a typical ensemble that included stables, equipment sheds, a garage, a warehouse, shops for machinery, blacksmithing, electrical work, painting, plumbing, and carpentry. The buildings themselves were arranged for maximum efficiency and were usually located on side roads, out of the way of the park visitors. Most often, the maintenance area was located within the headquarters area.[58] In the National Register boundary expansion area, the Big Meadows and Headquarters maintenance areas followed these guidelines.[59] In general, both areas are rectilinear with (mostly long, narrow) buildings located around the periphery of the rectangle and within the rectangle in parallel rows.[60] The two areas had distinctive architectural themes -- the Headquarters area employing local sandstone for exterior walls and the Big Meadows area employing flitched-edge vertical siding.

Campground design followed a different path. In the early 1920s, with the increasing popularity of automobile travel, national parks enlarged their campgrounds to accommodate the growing number of

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[57]McClelland, p.142.

[58]McClelland, p. 86.

[59]The Piney River and Simmons Gap maintenance areas were not included in the master plans and apparently were informally sited to take advantage of the pre-park facilities at these locations. At Piney Branch, a temporary ranger station for the district was needed so an existing CCC building was put into service. Thereafter maintenance facilities were also located at the site.

[60]Historic photographs of the area (and original plans) show the Big Meadows maintenance area enclosed by a wood fence. The rectilinear scheme may have its source in Charles Punchard's 1919 scheme for the design of park administrative areas. He called for structures to be located around three sides of a centrally located open square. Later industrial groupings "were arranged to form enclosed compounds." See McClelland, p. 87, 142.

motorists/campers. At the time, campgrounds were located in open fields or forest clearings, and provided at most water, fireplaces, and a comfort station. However, individual camp sites were generally not well defined and overall the campgrounds were not well organized. Cars were haphazardly parked, tents were hung from the sides of vehicles, and campers set up portable tables.[61] Camping areas became increasingly unattractive as standing wood was cut down for fires, the remains of campfires were located randomly throughout, automobiles dripped oil into the soil, and campers' constant trampling on the ground killed off vegetation, in particular harming trees by damaging their roots. As a result of these problems, by the late 1920s, a number of campgrounds were abandoned.

The solution to the problems were to come from an unexpected source. In 1932, the U.S. Forest Service introduced the Meinecke plan for campground development, whose application resulted in the modern campground. E. P. Meinecke was a plant pathologist who had studied at length the problems of the Forest Service campgrounds which were similar to those of the National Park system. His theory of campground design was premised on providing a naturalistic campground environment for the camper, while preserving the existing natural plant life.

[61] McClelland, p. 161.

To implement this, Meinecke first urged that more attention be paid to where campgrounds were located. To ensure that sites could withstand intense use, he proposed that they be selected based on soil type, projected length of seasonal use, type of vegetation, and altitude. The heart of the Meinecke plan, however, was campground design. Fundamental to his plan was the dividing of the campground into individual campsites. Each campsite would consist of a parking space and a clearing equipped with a fireplace, a fixed picnic table, and a tent site.[62] Vegetation would be protected from automobiles by strategically placed boulders and logs. Permanent paths to comfort stations and other locations were employed to prevent a proliferation of different trails. Trees and shrubs between campsites served as screens, providing privacy and a naturalistic setting. Amphitheaters and campfire circles were also included as essential elements of the new campground. The design allowed for parking in parking spurs adjacent to the individual campsites along one-way loop roads, which limited the amount of automobile-related damage to the site. It took several years for the Meinecke plan to be successfully implemented, because of the slow nature of clearing vegetation and building roads. However, his ideas soon became so widely adopted that park planners referred to the "meineckizing" of campgrounds.[63]

In the National Register boundary addition area, the Meinecke plan was clearly the starting place for the design of the Big Meadows campground. The use of a one-way road system and individual campsites provisioned with fixed tables, a tent site, fireplaces, and parking spurs comes directly from Meinecke. A later innovation, however, were the camping sites that span the width of the loop and provide access to campsites from two roads. The arrangement, which was designed for use by travel trailers, appeared in the National Park Service publication, *Park and Recreation Structures*, a year after the opening of the campground in 1937.[64]

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[62]McClelland, p. 162.

[63]McClelland, p. 163.

[64]McClelland, p. 222.

Meinecke also addressed the design of picnic areas. For these also, he advocated a one-way loop road system with off-road parking and fixed fireplace areas. In the boundary addition area, both the Big Meadows and Dickey Ridge picnic areas generally follow this plan. Both employ pull-in parking areas, a one-way traffic pattern, and fixed sites for fire grates. Both picnic areas were designed with permanent paths leading to and from comfort stations and parking areas. The two areas differ significantly in their topography and therefore in their individual design. The Dickey Ridge picnic area is built around a small knoll, and a central path runs along the ridge with side paths connecting to the parking areas. At Big Meadows, the site is largely flat and a cloverleaf pattern was selected for the layout of the paths.

The National Park Service also approved the design of concession facilities and generally decided on the appropriate location for facilities (as consistent with the park master plan). In general, concessionary facilities followed the overall National Park Service design principles (use of native materials, fitting buildings to the setting, etc.). The National Park Service initiated the concept of waysides -- an idea that originated with landscape architect Jens Jensen.[65] As seen at Dickey Ridge and Big Meadows, waysides were areas located along a parkway that included visitor services such as gasoline stations, comfort stations, stores, restaurants, and often picnic areas. The concept of combining a number of functions in a single building and in grouping buildings together to make the least impact on the landscape was consistent with the National Park Service's naturalist design ideal.

The design of "housekeeping cabins" like those at Big Meadows were also the subject of study by the National Park Service.[66] Cabin areas first were established in national parks in the mid-1920s. Their popularity, and the desire of concessionaires to greatly expand the number of such cabin camps sparked a 1929 study of housekeeping cabins and resulting standards for housekeeping cabins. The standards

[65]McClelland p. 224.

[66]See generally, McClelland, p. 142. A group of cabins were also constructed at Dickey Ridge; these were later moved to Lewis Mountain and other areas.

prescribed the size of the cabin as well as specifics such as the number of windows. The placement of cabins was also somewhat controversial, as concessionaires in other parks were anxious to squeeze as many into a small area as possible. This oftentimes conflicted with the National Park Service principle of integrating buildings to sites. At Big Meadows, although an extensive collection of cabins was planned, only seven cabins were built, and these were grouped together in a loose circular arrangement in a wooded area facing Black Rock.

The Rustic Style

National Park Service landscape and architectural design at Shenandoah took much from the rustic style -- what is often referred to as the National Park Service's "official" style. One of the most basic tenants of the style, however, was to draw upon existing local design. At Shenandoah, an obvious precedent for National Park Service designers to look to, especially for recreational buildings, were the existing buildings at Skyland. In particular, the common rustic vernacular vocabulary seen in the cabins at Skyland, was a design source for other structures throughout the park. Pollack had initially specified that dwellings at Skyland be "rustic cabins." They were to be either of log construction or, if of frame construction, they were to be covered with wood shingles or (later) chestnut bark siding. Not surprisingly, the typical cabin at Skyland closely resembled the cabin designs of the permanent residents of the mountains who built the Skyland houses. [67] The latter -- local vernacular design --represented another major design source for National Park Service designers.

On an academic level, the rustic style had it roots in the naturalistic work of Andrew Jackson Downing. His work, in turn, was built on eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century British landscape designers of the "picturesque" school (including Humphrey Repton, William Kent, and Capability Brown). Downing published his ideas in a periodical (*The Horticulturalist*) and a number of books including *Cottage Residences*, *The Architecture of Country Houses* and *Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*. In general, the ideal of the picturesque involved an emphasis on irregularity and variation. Downing's landscape work is characterized by a sequence of changing vistas, and variations in topography and natural features. Specific elements included winding paths and drives, open meadows, groves of evergreens, natural water elements (including waterfalls, bubbling brooks, etc.), and rock outcroppings. Downing paid particular attention to the design of the man-made elements and advocated a common design initiative behind major built elements and the garden. Architectural features, although important elements of the design, were to be subordinate to, and blend with , the natural surroundings.

[67] Reed Engle,"Skyland Historic District National Register Nomination [draft], 1995, page 9.

The use of native materials, including logs and rocks, helped to accomplish this goal. Structures designed to be set in the landscape -- bridges, pavilions, etc. -- were simple structures typically of (unpeeled) logs and branches, or unfinished stone.[68]

In architecture, aside from Downing's work, the rustic design impetus owes debts to a number of different sources. The first and strongest concentration of buildings in the rustic "camp" style, was in the camps of the Adirondacks constructed in the 1880s through the 1920s. Located in natural settings often close to lakes, the camps usually consisted of a number of separate buildings including cabins, lodges, and boat houses. The buildings were positioned to take advantage of views and to fit comfortably in the landscape. Buildings were constructed of chinked logs and set on stone foundations that were often battered. The oversized timbers used for the roofs and beams were exposed. Large stone chimneys, often protruding high above the roof ridge, were typical. The houses often incorporated stylistic elements from a variety of European vernacular styles as well as the vernacular log cabins native to the area.

The Adirondack "camp" style although dating to somewhat earlier, was first documented in 1889 in *Log Cabins: How to Build and Furnish Them,* by William Wicks. In addition to discussing the construction of the camp buildings, Wicks also emphasized the concept that the buildings should "grow out of" of the site. Some of the best examples of the camp style are the buildings of William West Durant, one of the major architects of lodges and camps in the Adirondack area.

Major characteristics of the Adirondack version of the style that were incorporated into the design of recreational buildings in the National Register boundary expansion area include the reliance on native materials, the emphasis on fitting the buildings to the site, and the use of porches, outdoor decks, stone chimneys, exposed interior beams, and casement windows.

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[68]After Downing's untimely death in 1852, his style was adopted and his teachings were followed by a variety of landscape designers. The most notable of these were Calvert Vaux (his partner for a short period of time) and Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr.

Major precursors and/or contributors to the "rustic" or "camp" style are the Arts and Crafts movement (of which it is arguably a part) and the earlier Shingle Style, and Richardsonian Romanesque movements. The Shingle style came into prominence in the 1870s. The ultimate expression of the style was along the East Coast, particularly in seaside resort communities such as Newport, Rhode Island. The Shingle style shared the Victorian emphasis on variety in massing, pattern, and texture. It is characterized foremost by the use of wood shingles on walls, its asymmetrical facades, and complicated massing (often including towers, porte cocheres, etc.). Another influence on the Rustic style was Richardsonian Romanesque, a stylistic spinoff of the work of Henry Hobson Richardson (1838-86) whose work was most popular from 1880-1900. Like the Shingle style, Richardsonian Romanesque shared some of the Victorian emphasis on variation in pattern, color, and massing; however, these elements became greatly simplified. Its key characteristics include heavy stonework and rounded arches resting on short, thick columns.

Another important antecedent of the Rustic style was the Arts and Crafts movement, which had its basic philosophical roots in the works of English craftsman/designer and writer William Morris. The movement influenced a number of important regional styles and nationally prominent architects. In terms of architecture -- the movement was as strong or stronger relative to the decorative arts -- the underlying tenets of the style include an emphasis on craftsmanship (often by hand), strong connections to the natural world through the use of intermediate areas (such as pergolas and porches) between building and grounds, and an overall horizonal emphasis in design. Although certain of these characteristics were revealed on the exterior of a building, much of what truly characterizes an Arts and Crafts-influenced structure was seen in the interior. Here an emphasis on craftsmanship tended to be revealed in materials (wood, stained glass, metal work) and workmanship/decorative treatment. The diverse influence of the Arts and Crafts movement can be seen in the work of the Bernard Maybeck and Greene and Greene in California, in the work publicized by Gustave Stickley in *The Craftsman* magazine, in the widespread popularity of the bungalow form, and in the Prairie-style work that originated in the mid-west.

Landscape Design

Landscape design of this period in the park area was a product of well-developed National Park Service design theory.[69] Much of this theory (such as the use of curvilinear design) had its origin in the naturalistic landscape design of Downing. Perhaps the most significant component of the design theory was the importance of preserving existing landscape and restoring landscape altered by man to its original

[69]For a thorough discussion of all aspects of National Park Service design theory, see generally, Linda McClelland, *Presenting Nature.*

condition. National Park Service landscape design theory emphasized the complete understanding of particular landscapes and plants within them as the foundation of good design. For instance, the restoration of native flora and fauna required specific knowledge about the conditions under which specific plants thrived. Echoing Downing, National Park Service design theory emphasized the opportunity for a series of unfolding scenes threaded together, for instance, by roads or paths. Trails were to be designed so that important views were viewed at turns in the path at rising grades. Smaller-scale scenes such as those of specific objects were best viewed straight ahead and from a distance. Broad vistas were best seen at an angle. The scenery was to be allotted along the trail in a variety of settings. Roads, trails, and buildings while being positioned to take advantage of views, were at the same time placed so as to be as inconspicuous as possible.

Much of the landscaping around developed areas in the park was completed by CCC workers. Among the CCC landscape-related activities were the previously mentioned "landscape naturalization" program. Fraser fir (Abies fraseri), red spruce (Picea rubens), and Canadian yew (Taxus canadensis) were especially singled out for cultivation. These declining species in the park were started via transplants and seeds, and studies were made about their germination and growth to determine their appropriateness for the area. Stock was planted on slopes to control erosion, around picnic areas and campgrounds for screening (for privacy or to conceal "undesirable " objects), to frame vistas, and for transplanting to heavily used areas to replace mature stands in the future. Under this project, 300,000 trees or shrubs were transplanted.[70]

One of the first systematic studies of the landscaping needs of the park was completed in June 1938. R.B. Moore, a forester, conducted a field survey of the entire park area to determine the location of areas that were in need of planting, erosion control, etc. The overall conclusions of the report were threefold. First, that approximately 245 acres of eroded cultivated areas or pastures and 10 miles of eroded paths should be replanted with native species. Second, that areas with dense sod, which would not easily revert to woods, be replanted with trees. Third, that indigenous species, in particular trees and shrubs that were uncommon in the park (including fir, spruce, fringe tree, Canadian yew, rosebay rhododendron, catawba rhododendron, mountain ash, and pines other than Virginia pine) should be underplanted (that is, planted

[70]Lambert, *Administrative History*, p. 198.

in existing forested areas) on chosen sites. The second suggestion, of replanting on sod areas was not approved, but the other two suggestions were followed.

In the boundary addition area, landscape design closely followed the National Park Service's naturalistic style. Although detailed original planting plans have not been located, in general the designs followed the basic principle of preserving (or restoring) the natural surroundings through the use of native species, and de-emphasizing man-made intrusions.

Architectural Design

As discussed above, National Park Service buildings of this era, were in the Rustic style. The elements of the style were formalized in a 1938 NPS publication entitled *Park and Recreation Structures*. Like the earlier *Park Structures and Facilities* (1935) upon which it was based, the book incorporated the design philosophy of the National Park Service as developed by Thomas Vint, Herbert Maier, and others.[71] Although the style basically served as the National Park Service's "national style," it was considered to be best suited to wilderness park areas. The aim of the style as interpreted by National Park Service designers, was to achieve "sympathy with natural surroundings and with the past" through the use of native materials in proper scale[72] and the avoidance of severely straight lines and over-sophistication.

The successful use of native materials depended on both the use of local materials and on the way in which the materials were used. Stonework and log construction were particularly emphasized. Rock work first was required to be of the proper scale. (Generally small rocks were not appropriate.) The proper

[71]Many cornerstones of the style of course, have their immediate source in the work of Downing and Vaux.

[72]More specifically, structural elements, logs, timbers, and rocks should be matched to the scale of the surrounding environment.

construction of rock walls was set out for particular attention, the overall aim being a look of informality. To achieve this, it was recommended that larger rocks predominate at the bottom of a wall and smaller sizes predominate at the top. A mix of sizes of rocks was seen as necessary to add variety and interest. In general it was suggested that rock work not be laid in courses. For log construction, logs were selected that were "pleasingly knotted" rather than uniform. In general, the textural surface of the log was maintained, although bark was stripped from logs to avoid insects, wood rot, and litter (when the bark fell off).

To further aid in the important concept of subordination of a structure to its environment, five principles were followed. As to the first of these -- the use of existing natural screening -- the structure was to be located to take advantage of extant plant material or natural features. Lacking these, screening was developed by using local plant materials. (However, "planting out" -- totally hiding structures behind plantings -- was avoided). Signs showing the way to a less visible building were preferable "to the shock of finding a building intruding at a focal point or visible for great distances."

According to National Park Service design theory, the second factor important in "assimilating" a structure into its environment was the use of color. The appropriate color of a building was dictated by the colors of the immediate surroundings. In general, warm browns helped "retire" a building in a wooded setting. Light driftwood grey was also recommended. Where a contrasting color was necessary (i.e., for window muntins) a light buff or stone color was endorsed. Green, although relating well to the forest colors, was avoided because it was a difficult color "to get right" and because of its tendency to fade. Brown or weathered gray roofs were seen as blending better with the earth colors and tree trunks than other colors, in particular green, which was seen as being too solid and monotonous.

Another principle used to assimilate a building to a site was the use of foundation plantings (i.e., plantings that cover the "otherwise unhappy line of demarcation between building and ground.") Rock footings served the same purpose, as did the addition of a batter to a stone wall. The latter, if done well, gave the building the appearance of "having sprung from the soil. Park structures giving that impression are of the elect."

The other principles related to the design of the building. In contrast to urban forms, an emphasis only on the front facade of the building was to be avoided since park buildings were generally viewed from all sides. Where necessary, service functions were screened by a palisade. A final factor important in subordinating a building to its environment was a low silhouette and an overall emphasis on horizonal lines. A low roof pitch (less than one-third where practical) kept the roof from dominating the structure and the setting.

The National Park Service buildings of this era in the National Register boundary extension area follow these tenets. A majority are low gabled structures of wood (including log) construction. Most are painted brown.[73] Some employ uncoursed native stone. Another common characteristic is that in general, buildings within a particular geographic/use "grouping" share common materials and/or design elements (i.e.,"architectural theme"). For instance, buildings of this era in the Headquarters maintenance area were mostly constructed of local sandstone and buildings at the Big Meadows maintenance area all have vertical slab siding and had wood shingle roofs (now being restored).

Virginia Sky-Line and Concessionaire Construction

With its opening in 1936, thousands of visitors poured into the park and utilized the existing recreational facilities, driving on the scenic Skyline Drive, and enjoying the out-of-doors at picnic areas. Additional picnic areas were soon opened (including Dickey Ridge, Pinnacles, and Big Meadows) to accommodate the crowds, as was the first campground, completed in 1937, at Big Meadows.

Park-owned recreational areas (such as picnic areas) were augmented by privately owned facilities. When the park opened, existing operations at Skyland and Panorama, as well as the Spotswood Tearoom, continued to function under agreements with the National Park Service. However, with the flood of tourists that accompanied the opening of Skyline Drive, there was a concern that the existing commercial operations would not be sufficient, and the National Park Service began plans to expand tourist facilities.

[73]Paint analysis (Engle, 1994-95) indicates that the buildings at the Headquarters Maintenance area were originally a medium grey/brown.

In December 1932, Chief Landscape Architect Thomas Vint visited the park and recommended that facilities for food, gasoline stations, and souvenirs be developed at four or five locations along the drive, and that overnight facilities, with more formal restaurants, should be located at Skyland and Big Meadows. He also recommended that all of the concessions be placed in the hands of a single concessionaire. However, due to internal disagreement within the National Park Service and to the fact that bids had to be advertised multiple times, it was February 1937 before a concessionaire was selected. A contract was finally signed with a group called Virginia Sky-Line, Inc., headed up by Richmond businessman Mason Magnum. Their contract, which ran for 20 years, permitted the company to "provide, establish, maintain and operate lodges and camps for visitors, and stores, cafeterias, barber shops, bathhouses, gasoline filling stations, automobile and saddle horse transportation facilities . . . "[74] The contract called for Virginia Sky-Line to pay the National Park Service a fee of $1,250 annually plus a percentage of the net profit over 6% of the invested capital. As part of their contract, Virginia Sky-Line took over operation of all of the existing commercial enterprises within the park.[75]

A year prior to the awarding of the contract, the National Park Service had unveiled ambitious plans calling for investments (by the prospective concessionaire) of up to $1,750,000 for reconditioning existing facilities, and constructing large new facilities at Big Meadows and four other locations. Smaller facilities were planned for Dickey Ridge, and six other locations. Included in this scheme were plans for a series of seven large "cabin colonies," including one at Big Meadows. Virginia Sky-Line, however, favored a more conservative approach. It first planned a central lodge and a few overnight cabins at Big

[74]Lambert, *Administrative History*, p. 262.

[75]With the agreement, George Freeman Pollack's long official association with the Skyland development came to an end and in spite of his desire to stay on and manage Skyland for the new concessionaire he went into forced retirement. He requested and received permission to occupy two buildings (Massanutten Cottage and the nearby Annex) for the duration of his own and his wife's life.

Meadows. Soon thereafter, it agreed to additional "roadside stations" (including the one at Big Meadows) and three other buildings, including the new lodge at Dickey Ridge.

The first work accomplished by the concessionaire in 1937 was the "enlarging and installing of modern equipment" at the existing facilities which pre-dated the park. By 1938, the Big Meadows wayside was constructed. The Dickey Ridge facility, which included a dining room for 60 people as well as a dancing terrace, coffee shop, and service station, opened its doors in May 1938. Cabins were constructed and in use at Big Meadows by 1939 (however, 7 cabins rather than the planned 113 were actually constructed). The lodge at Big Meadows, which included both a restaurant accommodating 150 and 26 guest rooms, was also completed in 1939.

Most concessionaire buildings, including lodges, cabins, restaurants, commercial waysides and associated utility buildings, were designed by Richmond architect Marcellus Wright, Jr. Wright was born in 1907 in Henrico County, Virginia. His father, Marcellus E. Wright, Sr., also an architect, was a founding partner in what is today the Richmond architectural firm of Marcellus Wright, Cox & Smith. Like his father, Wright, Jr., attended the University of Pennsylvania, where he received a Bachelor's degree in Architecture in 1929 and a Master's in Architecture in 1930. After completing his education, he worked as a draftsman in his father's firm for a few years, then served as an engineer in Richmond for the WPA and Emergency Relief Administration, then in 1935-36 he traveled to Iraq and served as the architect for the Joint Assyrian [Archeological] Expedition. On his return, he became the architect for Virginia Sky-Line, a position he retained until 1940. In 1939, he brought the client with him when he returned to work with his father in the firm that then became Marcellus Wright & Son. During the war years he served as a major in the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. After the war, he became a principal, then managing partner, in the architectural firm founded by his father (known later as Marcellus Wright & Partners, then Marcellus Wright, Cox, Cilimberg & Ladd). He was the architect for the New State Office Building (Richmond, 1955) and his primary works include Western State Hospital (Staunton, 1946-64) and Byrd

Airport (Richmond, 1948-69). He became a fellow of the American Institute of Architects in 1956. His community service in the Richmond area included work with a variety of governmental and nonprofit organizations.

Mason Magnum, president of Virginia Sky-Line, was a personal friend of Wright's and was responsible for his coming to work at Shenandoah.[76] Prior to the major design work for the buildings, Wright did travel to some of the western parks to look at models for the Shenandoah buildings, but given the quite different location and program, apparently took little from these examples.[77] Instead, Wright studied the problem anew, and came up with design solutions that were most closely inspired by the setting, in particular, the area's topography. His major designs at Shenandoah -- as seen for instance at Big Meadows Lodge -- employ native materials and are marked by a small-scale domestic quality. In general, they are long narrow compositions that hug the ridge (and/or the drive) and are divided into a number of component parts that easily adjust to the topography of the site. They are sited to take advantage of important views into the valley.

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[76]For information in this section about Wright and his work at Shenandoah, see generally, transcript of oral interview with Wright conducted September 25, 1995. (Shen. Archives) In this interview, Wright states that the first work he did at Shenandoah was the recordation of existing pre-park buildings. These drawings have not yet been identified.

[77]This was consistent with National Park Service design theory, which emphasized that the appropriate solution for an individual park was a function of such features as the geography, local materials, and local historical design antecedents.

In terms of materials, in addition to the native chestnut and local stone, Wright also typically employed glass blocks as accents (always near the main entrance of a building), as well as a unique material that was to come to typify roofing materials at the park, concrete shingles. As to these materials, Wright apparently heard of a local Richmond contractor who was producing the shingles, and thought that their fireproof qualities (given the distance of the site from fire stations) made their use appropriate at Shenandoah.[78] To support their weight, the buildings had to be designed with particularly heavy roof structures. Following Wright's introduction of their use, they were also employed in other buildings in the park designed by the National Park Service. According to Wright, his use of glass blocks was also strictly utilitarian; they served to provide light in areas where for one reason or another he did not want to have a regular window.

[78]The specifications for the Big Meadow lodge indicate that the likely supplier was the Hendricks Coal Company of Richmond, VA. Concrete shingles on National Park Service buildings were made by CCC labor.

Wright was given a relatively free hand in both the designing of the buildings and their exact siting.[79] There was an easy cooperative working relationship between himself, Virginia Sky-Line, and the National Park Service which made getting the approval of all parties an easy process. He made biweekly visits to the site to review construction progress. Between times, National Park Service personnel kept their eye on construction. The company apparently had its own small construction crew for smaller buildings, but contracted out larger facilities.[80] Wright's involvement at Shenandoah effectively ended around 1939 when most of the buildings were completed.[81]

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[79]Plans, however, indicate that revisions were made to Wright's plans by the concessionaire. For instance, a barrel-vaulted ceiling was substituted for a ceiling which was open to the beams at the Dickey Ridge Lodge.

[80]Benson, "The Skyline Drive," p. 8.

[81]One major unknown about Wright's buildings relates to the role of the firm of Barber & McMurry, Knoxville, TN in the design of the Big Meadows and Dickey Ridge Lodges. Plans for both buildings show the firm as "Consulting Architects." Although the firm is still operating, no information has been located about their precise role in the design of the Shenandoah buildings. The firm was founded in 1915, and in the 1930s had a diverse practice with a particular emphasis on large domestic projects, churches, and schools. In 1936, the firm was involved in the design of the administration

WAR AND POST-WAR PARK ADMINISTRATION, WWII to 1950

building for Great Smoky Mountains National Park so at least at that time the firm had an on-going relationship with the National Park Service.

The war years brought a number of major changes to the park and to the National Register boundary addition area. One of the most significant was that the plentiful New Deal labor and money that had largely built the park abruptly ended. Between 1940 and 1949 no new funds were appropriated for buildings or physical improvements at the park.[82] The number of CCC participants had started to decline for a number of years before the war as an increasing number of enrollees were employed in defense-related industries. However, all CCC work programs were ordered to cease as of July 15, 1942, and enrollees were put to work closing the operations. As discussed below, park officials sought to replace some of the lost help with Civilian Public Service camps staffed by conscientious objectors.

Another major change that resulted from the war was a vast decline in the number of park visitors. The level of more than a million visitors per year achieved in 1937 soon fell as gas rationing was implemented. In May 1942, visitation was down by 75%, and by the middle of the war, the number of visitors was one twentieth of the level before the war.[83] Facilities at the park shut their doors one by one. By July 1942, Big Meadows Lodge closed, and two months later all commercial operations had ceased. Although some visitors came to the park on buses, pleasure driving was banned, and shortages -- as well as gas and tire rationing -- provided further disincentives to travel to the park.

[82] *Page News & Courier*, 5 May 1949, Shenandoah National Park Archives, Shenandoah National Park, VA.

[83] Lambert, *Administrative History*, p. 298.

The war had other, indirect, effects on the boundary addition area. Concerned that Washington could be a bombing target, the Smithsonian Institution shipped a substantial proportion of its collection to the Headquarters area of the park in November 1942. Items came from the collections of what are now the Natural History, American History, and Air and Space Museums.[84] There were two major categories of collections that were moved. The first was the nation's irreplaceable "national treasures." In this category were the "Star Spangled Banner" (the flag that was immortalized in Francis Scott Key's poem that, set to music, became the national anthem) and George Washington's uniform and sword. The second major category of items transferred were those needed to form the nucleus of a new national museum in the event that the Washington facilities were destroyed. In this category were thousands of natural history specimens. Also among the items shipped to the park were over 300 patent models.

Most of the Smithsonian's collections apparently were stored in the warehouse (HQ-0406) at the Headquarters area.[85] There, the large storage room was altered to control the humidity. (Despite this, there were apparently problems with the deterioration of the bird collections.) Park items that were originally stored in the area were moved to HQ-0401, which had been retrofitted by the Smithsonian for

[84]Information relating to the Smithsonian materials was provided by Don Kloster, a curator of the American History Museum's military collection.

[85]NARA, RG 79, Entry 62, Boxes 11 and 12, "Records Relating to CPS Camps 1941-48" (at NARA II, College Park, MD).

the purposes. (A dirt floor was replaced with a concrete one and the open bays in the front of the building were filled in.) The Smithsonian also paid for the construction of HQ-0409 (now the Gas & Oil House) to house a "power plant" to heat the warehouse. The power plant could not be acquired, and the building was used for storage instead; the stone veneer was never completed.[86] The area was patrolled by four Smithsonian guards who used HQ-0409 as a shelter. Carl Mitman, a Smithsonian employee familiar with collections management, relocated to the area to oversee the collection. Construction work on both of the buildings was done by Civilian Public Service workers.[87] The Smithsonian's collection was returned to Washington in November 1944.

[86]An oil and gas building had long been planned for the spot where HQ-0409 was located and plans for the alterations to the warehouse show that the heater building would be used in the future as a gas and oil building.

[87]NARA, RG 79, Entry 62, Boxes 11 and 12, "Records relating to CPS Camps 1941-48," (at NARA II, College Park, MD).

The initiation of a Civilian Public Service (CPS) camp at Shenandoah cushioned somewhat the blow of losing CCC labor. CPS camps provided public service in civilian work as an alternative to military service for conscientious objectors (COs). The camp (CPS 45), housed at old CCC Camp 10 at Pinnacles, operated from August 1942 to June 1946. The camp had between 75 and 130 men and was operated by the Mennonite Central Committee. The duties of CPS workers at Shenandoah were similar to those of the CCC at the park, and included fire protection, construction of trails, roads, utilities, and park structures, erosion control, and planting. Within the area included in this nomination, in 1943 they completed the renovation of the former technical service quarters at CCC camp NP-12 at Piney River for use as the North District ranger's station.[88] Around 1943, CPS workers also were involved in the construction of the oil and gas storage building, at the Headquarters area, that was constructed for use by the Smithsonian, and made alterations in HQ-0401 to accommodate materials moved out of the warehouse building.

With the end of the war in 1945, travel was once again possible, and the number of visitors to the park did gradually rise, although the level of visitorship never regained its preeminent pre-war position relative to other national parks. Virginia Sky-Line reopened some facilities in September 1945 and the rest of the facilities in the spring of 1946. By 1949, visitation had regained its pre-war million-visitor level. In terms of construction at the park, the war and post-war period marked a period of quietude. It was not until the Mission 66 program (see below) was instituted that any major changes to the built environment of the park took place.

Architecture

In the early years of the war, a minimal amount of work was done to complete buildings that had already been started. Within the area included in this nomination, the only new construction was completed in the Headquarters area. A number of buildings in the area were completed in the early war years, and renovation work was done on at least one of the older buildings in the Headquarters area in the early

[88]According to a CPS report, the technical service quarters building was selected as the new site of the North District's ranger station only as "a temporary expedient. "NARA, RG 79, Finding Aid 166, Entry 62 (NARA II, College Park, MD).

1940s. In addition to the completion of the sandstone-covered Administration and utility buildings, three additional residences were built at Headquarters. These were small side-gable houses with wood siding that blended well with the pre-park structures on the site. These, as well as many of the utility buildings, were designed by "Hop" Baughan, one of the local National Park Service planners who was trained as an architect. In general, however, no new funding was available for construction, and many materials were so scarce that construction was difficult.

With the transfer of items from the Smithsonian to the warehouse at the Headquarters area, a simple concrete-block "Gas and Oil" building was constructed. Due to wartime shortages it was built using materials on hand. Its design is similar to a "Gas and Oil" building constructed at Big Meadows four years earlier. The building was intended to have a stone veneer similar to a number of the other nearby buildings. Although the veneer was never added, metal masonry wall ties to attach the veneer still exist on the exterior of the building.
After the war, with the increase in visitors, existing tourist facilities soon became strained, and the National Park Service pushed Virginia Sky-Line to build additional facilities including some at Big Meadows. Virginia Sky-Line, however, balked at making such a large commitment of capital so near the expiration of their contract, and a new 20-year contract was drawn up and signed in June 1952. By the late 1940s, the first multi-unit "cottages" were constructed at Big Meadows. The design was sympathetic with, if not totally within, the rustic stylistic vein. They were designed by the Richmond firm of Louis Ballou and Charles C. Justice.

Of the buildings that were to follow, many were a product of the National Park Service's Mission 66 planning initiative. In answer to the lack of money and development that had come with the war and post-war period, throughout the National Park Service planning began in the 1950s to have "a program

which, if followed, will see the National Park system adequately developed and adequately staffed by 1966, the 50th anniversary year of the Service . . . "[89] Housing was recognized as one of the critical needs in the parks, and many of the buildings constructed under the Mission 66 program both in the boundary addition area and throughout the Park System were to house park employees.[90] The National Park Service developed three standardized house plans to fill the need.[91] In these designs, the traditional rustic style, which had become almost synonymous with National Park Service architecture, gave way to cheaper and faster-to-build modern designs.[92] The standard design used in Shenandoah could be considered a typical suburban ranch-style dwelling. It was a one-story house with three bedrooms, one and one-half baths, a utility room, living and dining rooms, and a carport. Roof types and materials, window styles, and exterior finishes, all could be adjusted to fit the particular setting without affecting the particular design. Variety was achieved by moving the carport or entrance. There are a total of eight houses in the park constructed using the Mission 66 standardized plans, six of which are within the

[89]Department of Interior Annual Report, 1955, quoted in Lambert, *Administrative History*, p. 314.

[90]Throughout the Park System, 2,000 new houses for park employees were constructed.

[91]See *Shenandoah National Park Determination of Eligibility for National Register Context Statement for Mission 66 Program*.

[92]Under Congressional limits, the house plans were restricted in size (less than 1,200 square feet) and cost (less than $18,000). The house plans were also touted as permitting rapid turnaround time to the builder once a location was selected.

boundary addition, at the Headquarters area. All have been determined non-eligible for the National Register.

Later construction, including that of the large Byrd Visitor Center (1966) at the Big Meadow Wayside area, has been of modern design. The new construction has not been consistent with, or sympathetic to, the design of the majority of the buildings within the historic district.

CHRONOLOGY OF MAJOR CONSTRUCTION/DEVELOPMENT BY AREA

Big Meadows

1935
" A preliminary plan of Big Meadows presented to Mr. Peterson for comments. At present time the plan is being revised according to suggestions made in his conference with Superintendent [of the Park, J.R.] Lassiter."[93]

1936
The 1936 master plan shows far less development than was eventually to occur at Big Meadows (it did not include, for instance, the wayside development, the subheadquarters area, or the campground).

Grading on main entrance road and spur to cabins completed in the spring. Entrance road to lodge roughed out in July.

[August]"The sub-headquarters area for Central section of Park is being proposed in the Big Meadows area and will be incorporated in the Cabin Camp plan. A quick rough stakeing [sic] job will be done by Branch of Engineering to find if grade of approach drive is practical and the revised plan will be submitted for approval . . . WPA forces have commenced excavation for water reservoir and lines."[94]

[93]"Report of Harvey P. Benson, Assistant Landscape Architect, 3/1935 to 4/1935 in Shenandoah National Park, Report of Branch of Plans and Design Field Office Luray, Virginia." NARA RG 79, Finding Aid 166, Entry 30 (NARA II, College Park, MD.)

[94]Report of Harvey P. Benson, August 1936.

"On the first of October, Messrs. [Thomas C.] Vint, Oliver G. Taylor, [Kenneth] McCarter and [Paul V.?] Brown accompanied Superintendent Lassiter and [Harvey] Benson to the site of the proposed development. The plan for the campground was inspected on the ground and signed. The following day it was approved by the Director. The following week, sod was stripped from the entrance drive and a bulldozer put to work grading out the roadway. On the inspection trip mentioned above, the party concurred in the site selected for sub-headquarters area and oil station [wayside]." [95]

1937
The 1937 master plan for Big Meadows now shows the wayside area and subheadquarters development area.

[February - March] "Sewer line to campground area is nearly completed. No work has been done on campground development except cleanup of dead timber. The two comfort stations have been laid out, but no work has been attempted. However, preparations are being made in assembling all necessary timber, fixtures, and plumbing supplies so that when good weather is encountered the work can be started and continued without interruptions. The carpenter shop for Sub-Headquarters are [sic] as shown on working plan 2011 approved 1/6/37 is underway. The excavation and forms for foundation are completed and the pouring of concrete will take place when cold weather subsides. . . . Stripping and trusking [sic] of sod from the entrance road of the Sub-Headquarters road has been completed. Grading will be started as soon as ground can be worked." [96]

September, revised drawings for the Blacksmith Shop/Storage Shed, Repair Shop, and Garage at the subheadquarters completed.

Picnic Area completed.

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[95]Report of Harvey P. Benson, October 1936.

[96]Report of Harvey P. Benson, February 20 to March 20, 1937.

1938
Petersburg, Bridesburg, Blacksburg, Lynchburg, and Mountain View Cottages completed.

According to the Master Plan overleaf: "Seven double cabins [were] completed in 1937 [sic] by concessionaire to house four people per cabin . . . Each cabin has bed rooms 11'4" x 13'10", toilet and shower and fireplace . . . Estimated cost is about $1500 each." Proposed features include 33 cabins for the initial development, and another 80 under "ultimate development." Another proposed improvement was, "Host House (Lodge) estimated cost $85,000" with lobby, lounge, dining hall, kitchen, souvenir shop, toilets, tap room, 14 rooms with showers and fireplaces, 14 rooms with toilets, 4 employees quarters.

"Development of the first campground for trailers and tents was finished in 1937 [sic] at Big Meadows. Popular approval of the newly completed area was indicated when, five minutes after the opening of the grounds, a camper appeared. There are 50 places provided for trailers and 20 for tents, and all the necessary facilities for convenient camping have been made available by the two standard comfort stations, a laundry and shower building, 30 fire places, 45 tables, and six water fountains. It has been interesting to observe the use made of tent space against trailer areas, the percentage to date being about four to one in favor of the former."[97]

"By spring of [1938] new roadside stations were constructed at Big Meadows . . .and at Elkwallow . . . Both of these stations, of attractive design and fitting harmoniously into the landscape, are situated far enough from the Drive, with all parking and service facilities in the rear, not to encroach too seriously on the scenic value of the motorway, but they still are readily accessible to the traveler. At both locations there are parking areas for 50 automobiles; and light lunches, gasoline and souvenirs may be obtained."[98]

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[97]Benson, *Skyline Drive,* p. 9.

[98]Benson, *Skyline Drive*, p. 8.

"Marcellus Wright, Jr., architect for the concessionaire, brought in advance prints of the partially completed Lodge Building for a preliminary consultation. The working drawings should be completed in a few days and made ready for approvals . . . Although the gas pumps were in operation on Sunday, April 13, the [Wayside] concession building was not opened until April 23. . . Six stone drinking fountains are being installed [at the campground] as a part of Job No. 109. Obliteration of the old Appalachian and sodding in various areas are other jobs being carried on at the present time. As soon as logs and lumber are forthcoming from the saw mill, it is planned to start Job No. 186, Construction of Checking Station, and Job No. 185, Construction of Laundry and Sewer Building.[99]

[99]Harvey P. Benson, Monthly Narrative Report to Regional Landscape Architect, March 20 to April 20, 1938. (Available at Shenandoah National Park Archives.)

"Of the seven new double cabins now being constructed by the concessionaire, three are completed, furnished, and ready for occupancy. The other four will probably be finished in about two weeks. The Lodge plans are now practically finished and ready for approval. It is not known whether this building will be constructed by force account under Colonel Smith or whether it will be let to contract . . . Six fountains, ten underground garbage pails, and six waste baskets have been installed in the camping area. Ten new tables have been built and placed at various camp sites . . . Job No. 186, Construction of Checking Station, [has] been started . . . The carpenter shop, warehouse, and garage are now occupied. The blacksmith shop is under construction with part of the framing finished . . . Footings have been done for the Gas and Oil house."[100]

1939

The 1939 Master Plan shows that major improvements have been completed since the last master plan. These include two comfort stations, the checking station, and a laundry/shower at the campground, seven cabins, six buildings at the subheadquarters, the wayside building and the comfort station at the picnic grounds.

"In July, 1939, the Virginia Sky-Line Company finished extensive construction work on the lodge at Big Meadows about one mile northwest of the Drive. Of native stone and chestnut, the building rambles more than 300 feet in length and rests soundly on the edge of an escarpment which affords interesting views of the valley and distant mountain ranges. A large dining room, accommodating 150 guests and finished entirely in native chestnut, is oriented so that diners may enjoy far-reaching views of the surrounding countryside. In addition to a large lobby and lounge, 26 guest rooms (all with baths and some with fireplaces), have been provided.

[100]Harvey P. Benson, Monthly Narrative Report to Regional Landscape Architect, April 20 to May 20, 1938. (Available at Shenandoah National Park Archives.)

"The lodge is virtually the beginning of the development proposed by the operator in the vast area at Big Meadows, although seven two-room cabins had been completed the previous year. There is sufficient room for 150 to 200 cabins if the demand arises for such an increase in lodging facilities, and adequate areas have been planned for riding horse stables, game courts, outdoor theater, community building and museum."[101]

1940
The Master Plan for the area dated 1/1/1940 shows a number of unexecuted features. A recreational area located on the west side of Big Meadows Road, slightly to the south and west of the cabin loop was planned. This area was to include a central parking area surrounded by a museum, tennis courts, and an amphitheater. In addition, a large stables area with paddock was to be located to the east of the present location.

1941 - present
Piedmont Cottage BM-0115 1941

Blackrock, Hawksbill Cottages completed c.1946

Double Top Cottage completed 1959

Employee Quarters completed 1961-6

Rapidan Cottage completed 1963

Byrd Visitors Center completed 1966

Amphitheater completed c.1978

Dickey Ridge

[101]See Benson, "Skyline Drive."

1936
"On October 1, 1936, Messrs. Vint, Taylor, McCarter visited the Park to formulate recommendations for . . . Roadside Comfort Stations, and Oil Station locations . . . The following locations were decided upon Comfort Stations: Gasoline Station Dickey Hill Development . . . Oil Station Locations: Dickey Hill or Gravelly Springs. [102]

1938
Picnic Grounds (including comfort station) completed.

[102]Report of Harvey P. Benson, October 1936.

"[During 1937] the operator began construction of a somewhat larger unit at Dickey Ridge, on the Drive five miles south of Front Royal. The concession building, opened to the public in May, 1938, stands just off the Drive where views of a 300-degree arc command the adjacent lowland country. The building contains a dining room for 60 persons, and an outdoor dancing terrace, in addition to a coffee shop and a gasoline station. There are parking facilities for 110 automobiles."[103]

"The Concessionaire has begun construction on the north wing, a recently approved extension. . . . It was a mistake to approve this extension until a study for service yard and entrance was made. As the building now exists, there is no place on either of the three sides where a small yard can be installed properly without obtrusion on desirable views . . . Without prior approval of any kind, the Concessionaire has constructed a semi-circular terrace on the west and has begun a small terrace on the north side of the new addition . . . The picnic grounds, Job No. 177, with about 1/2 day's grading will be ready to receive the base stone on roads and parking areas."[104]

"The concession building is being rapidly completed for the opening on May 28. . . The road loop to the cabin site has been graded and is now ready to receive the stone."[105]

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[103]Benson, *Skyline Drive*, p. 8.

[104]Harvey P. Benson, Monthly Narrative Report to Regional Landscape Architect, March 20 to April 20, 1938. (Available at Shenandoah National Park Archives.)

[105]Harvey P. Benson, Monthly Narrative Report to Regional Landscape Architect, April 20 to May 20, 1938. (Available at Shenandoah National Park Archives.)

1939
"Later in 1939 twelve cabins of native chestnut, containing from two to four rooms each with either private or joint baths, were built with total accommodations for 60 guests"[106] [These cabins were moved to the Lewis Mountain, Skyland, and Elkwallow areas.]

Headquarters

19th Century
Superintendent House/Center for Resources completed.

1916
Residence completed.
1935

[106]Benson, *Skyline Drive*, p. 8.

"After making several sketch plans for the headquarter's Area at Thornton Gap two were selected because of their topographical relationship; I spent the early part of the month drawing these two schemes in a more presentable manner . . ."[107]

1936
The 1936 Master Plan shows the Headquarters area on a site to the east of its current location, directly on Skyline Drive. Although the layout of the area is slightly different from what was ultimately constructed, the plan and the final product are very similar.[108]

1937
The 1937 master plan shows the Headquarters at its current location, although no specific plans for its development are included.

1938
A PWA allotment for a $50,000 addition to the Administration Building and a $20,000 addition to the utility buildings at Headquarters is approved.[109]

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[107]Report of Wallace G. Atkinson, Junior Landscape Architect, 3/1935 to 4/1935 in Shenandoah National Park Report of Branch of Plans and Design Field Office, Luray, Virginia.

[108]No documentary evidence has been located on how the location of the Headquarters area was selected. However, according to oral history sources, a primary reason for its location was the adverse winter weather on the Drive. Unlike contiguous areas in the park, the selected site was accessible by car twelve months a year.

Work begins on the Administration Building and warehouse in the Headquarters maintenance area.

1939
The 1939 master plan shows a detailed plan of the Headquarters area at its present location and in its current configuration.

1940
Equip.Storage/Workshop/Carpentry-Welding (HQ-0401), Equipment Shed (HQ-0403), Warehouse (HQ-0406) completed.

Administration Building completed.

1941
Employees Residences (HQ-0203, HQ-0204) and accompanying garages completed.

1942
Sign Shop (HQ-0426) competed.

Employee Residence (HQ-0208) and garage completed.

1943-present
Gas & Oil Storage Building completed 1943.

Employee Residences completed 1959.

Piney River

1935

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[109]"Beltsville P.W.A Grants Rescinded," *Washington Star*, September 23, 1938.

CCC Camp NP-12 moved from Sperryville to Piney River/Rattlesnake Point.[110]

Naturalist's Office completed

Maintenance Office/Station completed

1937
Maintenance/Equipment Shed completed

1943

[110]NARA, RG 79, Finding Aid 166, Entry 62 (NARA II, College Park, MD).

CPS workers dismantle most of the CCC camp buildings and complete alterations to the Technical Service Quarters for use as North District Ranger Station. According to the CPS report, "The building was given to us by the Army when the camp was demolished. It lends itself well to alteration for use as a ranger station, very much needed in this district, until the permanent facilities are made available. The proposed station is located strategically for fire protection as well as general administration. It is only a mile from the Hogback fire tower and two miles from the Elkwallow tavern and picnic ground. Facilities are available for storage of road maintenance, as well as ranger, equipment . . . We wish to stress the fact that this is purely a temporary expedient and the work undertaken will involve only that necessary to make the building livable."[111]

Ranger Office completed 1948

Simmons Gap

Mission/Residence constructed 1925.

Gas/Oil Building completed 1934.

Fire Cache completed 1937.

Maintenance Shed completed 1937.

Storage Shed completed 1939.

Maintenance Shop completed 1939.

[111]NARA, RG 79, Finding Aid 166, Entry 62 (NARA II, College Park, MD).